563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 ●105 [4r3] [439] 563 4r3 443 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--áney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

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4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country.

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants.

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size.

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields

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105 423 631 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal property known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay [651] [966] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice [651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 233 631 651 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collecting grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 227 439 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

175 631 648

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work.

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction.

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler.

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom.

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible

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105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 429 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill", or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 [134] Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.